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ing instance. Langmai, who was courting Kolmani by helping her with the storage of her harvest, suggested that they had better marry, by saying, "Who will eat this corn I am stacking? I had better come and eat it myself."

TOOTH BLACKENING

It is during this period of adolescence that both boys and girls have their teeth blackened and filed. Again the matter is optional, but since shiny black teeth are much admired and long uneven ones are considered very ugly, practically every young person has his blackened and probably half have them filed. The process is more or less in the nature of a prolonged picnic, free from adult supervision. It is without doubt also a period of license for many of the young people, although adults vigorously contradicted my phrasing it so.

The best indication of the sexual liberty current at this time is that stricter parents forbid their daughters to remain in remote field houses overnight and insist upon their staying at home or near by in the house of some responsible elder kin. Further, when I visited such a group one evening at sundown just as the strips of dye were being passed out, the young man in charge of procuring and mixing the paste used to darken the teeth said sternly to the children, "Now, no intercourse tonight" — a comment that produced a ripple of giggling among the boys and girls.

The actual procedure is as follows: In July or August some young unmarried man, perhaps in his early twenties, announces that he will blacken teeth for the children of the community and designates the field house where it will be done. This is the slack season agriculturally, so that girls can be spared from the fields. He purchases from some friend in the village of Bakudatang a particular type of soil found there. This investment rarely exceeds five cents. With the earth he mixes a fruit resembling a small green fig. The resulting paste is smeared on a strip of banana bark which each child cuts to fit the size of his mouth. The preparation of each day's supply takes the better part of an afternoon. For at least seven nights, and often ten, the children sleep together in a field house, with the paste held against their teeth by the flexible bark strips. During the day boys assiduously hunt rats, and girls go to their fields to collect vegetable foods. The children all eat together, being careful to place small bits of food far back in their mouths in order not to spoil the dye. With the same objective a length of thin bamboo is used as a drinking tube during the period. Surplus rats are smoked to preserve them for a feast on the last day.

The whole procedure reminds one very much of "playing house." It is a carefree time for all the young people. There are no taboos sur-

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the poison her husband had made over a piece of areca-nut shell she had discarded. The young woman, when I saw her, was depressed and ill. She apparently felt herself in an impasse.

Cases of this sort are relatively rare. Women as a rule are too valuable to go begging in this fashion, and anyone with enough vigor and maturity can get herself out of such a dilemma, as reference to the autobiographies will show.

ENTERING MARRIAGE FINANCE

So far this discussion of marriage has been primarily concerned with its formal structure, its influence on stabilizing relationships, and the position in which it places women in relation to their male kin. How a young man enters the financial game, with marriage and sex as motivations, needs some elucidation. The mode of entry presents a wide range—from those young men who are on good terms with wealthy fathers willing to set them up in marriages agreeable to them, to those young men who have no solicitous kin willing to, or able to, assist and who must break into the system through their own initiative.

The situation of the young man whose way is smoothed by the cooperation of a willing father needs little elaboration. The men's autobiographies set this picture in part. It is worth noting that elder kin are often genuinely concerned about procuring a wife for a young man. If a youth becomes involved with a woman, her relatives may precipitate a public scandal and force a marriage. This places the boy's elders at a disadvantage in bargaining. However, the case of a young man who opposes his father's choice and that of a young man who must make his way unaided may be illustrated in two incidents given here in some detail for the light they throw on human relationships.

Atamau was a young man of about seventeen whose elderly father, Mobikaliera, had found it financially convenient about a year before to accept as partial payment for a debt a friend's immature daughter, who was to become the wife of his son. Atamau resented the girl because as his age-mates said, "He wants someone who is old enough to sleep with." The matter had been in abeyance for about a year, but to a house-building feast in which the old father was a partner, the young girl was sent with a food contribution in her own right. This constituted a sort of public declaration of the validity of her marriage. When she arrived on the dance place, Atamau flew into a rage and knocked her basket of food to the ground, saying she was not his wife and had no right to contribute food.

The father was angry and turned on his son, who then openly re-

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007 So far the discussion of marriage has stressed in large part social forms, their possible repercussions on behavior, and their relationship to personality formations. It may be pertinent at this point to insert certain information on the Atimelangers' more intimate sex behavior and their ideas of procreation.

§13 It is very common for groups of young people, who are beginning
591 to take gardening seriously, to congregate in field houses and live together more or less consistently for days or months at a time. This is an accentuation of "playing house" among children. Sometimes an older woman or a married couple is the nucleus of such a group, sometimes a pair of young girls or an orphaned boy. Although everyone vigorously
[§3] denies that "irregular" sexual relations occur under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious from the autobiographies that they sometimes do. Strict parents usually insist that their daughters return to the family home at night. The absence from the home at nightfall of young or adult men is rarely questioned, but the absence of women and children often leads to a shouted inquiry as to their whereabouts. It is one of the frequent sounds that echoes across the valley as people settle down in their houses after sunset.

§32 Intercourse is solicited of young women by touching their breasts. A common euphemism for intercourse is "to pull a girl's breasts," since it is supposed that no woman can avoid being aroused by such a caress or would be able to resist a man who approached her in this fashion. Opportunities for this sort of approach are offered at dances and in the roughhousing that occurs among young people when they are away from their elders. In describing this situation one young man said, "Our hands move about at random and touch a girl's breast. That makes her spirit fly away, and she has to sleep with a man." If what has been said about early childhood experiences and about the role women are expected to play is correct, it is not surprising that most erogenous feeling
[§1] centers on women's breasts. For a woman to touch a man's genitals is considered completely shameless. A less drastic form of soliciting intercourse is to tug at either a man's or a woman's hand. In marriage people usually wait until they think everyone else in the living room is asleep.
§33 Then either partner may indicate desire by giving his spouse a short, tugging pat anywhere on the body. The woman is supposed to remove her loincloth, since the contact with it would be distasteful to the man.

The position in intercourse is ventroventral with the woman below or with both partners on their sides. Any other position is considered rather nasty. In fact, one divorce was partly precipitated, according to
[§4] the wife, by her husband's demands for the dorsoventral position. One

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IDEAS OF PROCREATION

842 The ideas of the physiology of procreation in Atimelang and their relationship to sexual morality deserve some detailed consideration. A child is thought to be formed from an accumulation of seminal and menstrual fluids in the mother—and menstrual fluid is considered the result of "things in a woman's breasts like eggs, which break and run down into her abdomen." For the first two months the child is believed 843 to remain in liquid form. It is during this period that the mother develops food preferences. In the third month pieces of flesh begin to solidify, and the mother feels dizzy and nauseated. In the fourth month the child's feet are formed, and a tiny placental cord appears.

At this time the fetus is said to resemble a banana blossom. This is also the period when the mother begins to feel movement. In the fifth month the fetus has solidified as far as its abdomen and begins to kick slowly and gently. In the sixth month the whole body is formed, but the ears, mouth, nose, and genitals are rudimentary. In the seventh month features begin to acquire flesh and prominence, and in the eighth month the child is complete and begins to jump about. In the ninth month even its nails are there, and "the child kicks until its mother is terribly sick. It kicks itself out of the mother's body; it tears its nest (placenta) and so has to come out." This is on the whole a remarkably accurate idea of fetal development.

842 Many different bits of behavior and attitudes dovetail with this idea 836 of procreation. One of these is that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. This in turn has its repercussion—in practice if not in theory—on sex morality. In theory, a young unmarried woman should be a virgin, although there is no idea of virginity tests at the time of marriage. However, should a husband shortly after marriage develop 753 feelings of nausea and a sense of discomfort just under the sternum, he will consult a seer. If the seer extracts a small piece of the fringe from a man's loincloth, this is considered a sign of the wife's premarital infidelity. The diagnosis of the difficulty is usually made by the patient. Nevertheless, the seer's role in fostering social conformity is not inconsiderable.

753 Incidentally, infidelity, as previously noted, may affect children and 684 the marriage partner in this fashion at any time during the earlier years of marital adjustment. It is a nice expression of the hostility and yet of the basic bond among members of the biologic family. Also, a difficult 744 first birth is considered a sign of premarital unchastity. In one such case the tunukun was threatened with death by the irate husbands of a pair

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of sisters with whom he was accused of improper relations at least five years before, and prior to the women's marriages. Nothing of the affair had been suspected until both women had difficulty in childbirth and their husbands beat confessions out of them.

Since a child scarcely ever results from occasional lapses from chastity, both men and women feel free in that respect as long as they are careful not to be caught. When I explained to Fantan the Interpreter that we had different ideas in our culture, his comment was, "Oh, that's too bad," which was a nice index of the amount of latitude the Atinelangers' ideas of conception give them in respect to their ideas of sex morality. The very obvious advantage of such ideas of conception makes Atinelangers, in discussing the subject, extremely unwilling to abandon them, even though they grant that sows will conceive after a single contact with a male. They are quick to add, however, that three or four days in the pen with a male produces a larger litter. It is a nice example of how reluctant people can be to abandon formulations justifying congenial behavior and consistent with elaborated attitudes.

It is interesting that, as in many other cultures, illegitimate children seldom, if ever, occur. In the Five Villages there was only one illegitimate child, the offspring of Matingma the Crazy Woman. Since Matingma's craziness was phrased mostly in terms of sex, her aberrant and almost unique status deserves mention here. Matingma was considered in her youth a perfectly normal person. She married a man in the Kalaisi area with whom she did not get along, so she returned to live with her father. On her return several young men wished to buy her. Time after time a preliminary payment was made, but each time the man involved requested the return of her bride-price because she was having affairs with other men. Her father assumed a bland attitude toward these complaints, answering, "Your wife is still here. Go sleep with her if you wish. I won't be angry." After about four such episodes no further attempts to purchase her was made.

During the first few years after her return, and at a time when she was not in permanent residence with any one man, she bore a child. In view of the local theory of conception, she was undoubtedly considered to have been far more loose morally than she may actually have been. In the course of time she came to be known as the "crazy woman." Her illegitimate child and her profligacy were adduced as evidence. It will be recalled that the fact that she took her child to the fields with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground was another bit of evidence. At the time of this investigation Matingma was at least in her late thirties and had become a sort of village prostitute. "She steals

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139 from people's gardens. Men from whose gardens she has stolen sleep
● 136 with her as payment for the food she has taken. Very many older men
[141] sleep with her, but young men are not brave enough."

Reasons for the lack of illegitimate children are not hard to find. If
141 Ashley-Montague's* suggestions are correct, it is quite possible that fertility is low at the period when young girls are indulging in premarital sexual activities. Further, mechanical abortions are practiced, and a
147 pregnant girl would probably attempt to avoid difficulties by a deliberate and early miscarriage. Although the society does not approve, married women, particularly older ones, make no very great secret of the fact that they avoid unwanted children by very vigorous labor or by even more deliberate attempts, like jumping repeatedly from a tree or rock or by jolting themselves in a squatting position against a stone. It is felt that these practices are most efficacious in the first two or three months, when the child is still in liquid form. Probably the accuracy of
[143] ideas on fetal development can be attributed in part to the practice of abortions.

142 There are also "medicines" that are supposed to reduce the menstrual flow, delay conception, and actually produce barrenness. In addition, women class themselves as "long conceivers" (*pal lolu*) and "short conceivers" (*pal bui*). To be a long conceiver is considered an advantage. When a young man's wife fails to conceive after a year or two, he frequently becomes suspicious of her and may accuse her of having taken a medicine to cause barrenness. "A man will then beat his wife, and if she has taken such a medicine, she has to ask some older woman for the antidote."

142 "Medicine" for any of the three purposes mentioned above seems
278 to belong more to the realm of magic than to that of effective pharmacology. Most procedures consist of eating certain leaves, like those of a sort of maidenhair fern, in a prescribed fashion over a given number of days. Another way of producing barrenness is to drink the dirty water in which one has washed a gong. This is again a reflection of the relationship, hostile in character, between sex and wealth. Men are never considered to be sterile, and birth control measures are never used by them.

142 · At this point I am less concerned with establishing the possible but improbable efficacy of certain leaves and procedures in reducing menstruation and in delaying or preventing conception than I am in indicating a series of attitudes. The sum of what I have said so far seems to

* M. F. Ashley-Montague, *Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines* (New York: Dutton, 1937), pp. 141ff.

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It is likely that these opportunities for both stealing and sex activity prevent the aggressions of early childhood from reaching explosive forms later.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of aggression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in childhood; it still remains low. The child must still have the idea that it is a supernumerary, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In this respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious restrictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advantages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy to any strikingly new experience; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by virtue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into manhood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage is rigidly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is thus actually canceled. The situation eventually arises where the father actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system of coercions without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father becomes the envied objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he

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ladder too, and I go up and down it in two steps." That woman was long in harvesting corn and didn't come. She said that evening, "We have talked until nightfall. We had better sleep together and be happy together before you return." But my mother sent her younger sister, my aunt Lonali, to fetch me. My mother knew where I was, and she said, "Those people from Lawatika are such that if you sleep one night with their girls they arrive with an expensive dowry consisting of a valuable moko [i.e., force a marriage with a high bride-price]." When I married my wife, Fungalani, the other Fungalani heard about it and said she had spoken first to me and that she too was coming to my house. But I said, "That is all right too, but you spoke to me first. If I had spoken to you first, it would have been all right. If you wish to come that is satisfactory, but I have only two mokos. Your bride-price will be only a Kolmale [worth 13 rupiahs]. Fungalani's bride-price will be the Hawataka [worth 20 rupiahs]." She didn't come.

159[X] 584 [336]

December 17, 1938

Last night I dreamed twice. People had cut some papayas in the field of Fuipeni [wife of the chief of Alurkowati] and in Lanmau's field [Mangma's dead younger brother]. They had cut off the whole crown and just the trunk was left. The fruit had fallen around the base of the trees. We felt them and only two were ripe. Matingkalicta [Mangma's aunt], Lonfani [her daughter], and Padata of Hatoberka ate the papayas with me. There were only two ripe ones. The others lay there on the ground. The rain came and a large spate descended. We ran, but my younger brother, Lanmau, was washed away. We went to look for him. He came back and joined us, but he was a dead person and said nothing. The spate had split into two branches; one had cut through the field of the mandur of Dikimpe and one had cut through my garden. It had dried up. We followed its course down to the foot of the slope. There was a bubbling spring there. We went back up the slope a short way and then I woke up.

159[X] 787

[Meaning of the cut papaya tree?] I don't know what that means but I think of a human head cut off. Eating and peeling ripe papayas means I will get a rash. [Spate?] That means a big rain will fall, a very big one, and there will be many spates but they will stop soon. The spring at the foot of the hill means that if I wash my hands in it I will get many gongs. [Split spate bed?] When the big rains come, they will come from two directions, and it will dry in the middle. [Afraid of spate?] I was very afraid when the spate carried off Lanmau, because I was afraid it would carry us off too. I was afraid for myself.

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were living. I wanted to go there to sleep. There were four of us men: Manikari, Fanmani, Maniseni, and I. We all played at dancing there. Tilaseni came to join us. She spoke to Maliemai and said, "Tell your younger brother that if he wants to marry me he can." Then Maliemai called me to come into the house. Maniseni said they had better all come in, but Maliemai said, "No, just Rilpada. The rest of you wait until I am through cooking." So Maliemai told me what Tilaseni had said. I answered, "Oh, this morning she spat areca juice on my face. We had better marry. I am willing." Then one night there was a dance for the village guardian spirit [*alemai*] given by Manikalieta. We all went. Tilaseni brought areca and betel to give me. I remembered that if a young man eats the areca a girl gives him, he breaks out with a rash, so I just put it in the bottom of my basket to give my father. [Exceedingly proper and conventional behavior.] At dawn I gave father the areca she had given me. [Question.] We didn't dance together. I told father that Tilaseni had given me the areca and if he was willing we could marry. Father said, "If you are happy with her, so am I. She is a good woman." At that time father wanted to feed his areca altar. He sent a child to tell Tilaseni's older brother to give him a pig. So they sent Tilaseni with a small pig, half a can of rice, and a bundle of corn. Father promised he would pay the bride-price in seven days and Tilaseni stayed in our house. In five days she came to sleep at my place, but just that night her uncle Fankalieta had called me to bring betel and areca, and we sat talking until the middle of the night. I went home to my place and saw that someone was sleeping on my mat. I felt the legs and felt two anklets. I thought, "This can't be my sister because she has only one anklet." I felt her calf. I ran my hand up her thighs, up her waist, to her breasts. I sat there and worried. I wanted to. It is customary here to wait seven days, but she came and wanted to sleep with me. I was ashamed. I crawled out, let down the ladder, and went out on the verandah, leaving her sleeping there. I slipped the ladder back up into the hallway and went to the chief's house to sleep. The next day when I came home father was angry with me. He said, "You are afraid of women. You didn't sleep with her. You aren't your age. By and by you will die. You will be poisoned." I said, "All right, I could have slept with her, but you older people are always saying that one has to wait seven days until the bride-price is paid, and I was just remembering your words." In two days we paid her bride-price. I didn't sleep with her the night we paid the bride-price. I ran away and slept in another house. So the next day she went to Kalabahi for two days. On the way back she met her older sister,